

THE COMMUNIST

Official Organ of the Communist Party of America.
SECTION OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Vol. II, No. 11

OCTOBER 1st, 1920

PRICE 5 CENTS

Conditions For Affiliation To The Third Communist International

"The first Congress of the Communist International did not lay down exact conditions for acceptance into the Third International. Up to the time of calling the first Congress there existed in most countries merely Communist tendencies or Communist groups.

"The second Congress of the Communist International assembled under different conditions. At present there exist in most countries not only Communist tendencies and movements, but also Communist parties and organizations.

Increasing numbers of Parties and Groups, which until recently belonged to the Second International, and which would now like to affiliate to the Third, are applying for affiliation, although they have not become really communistic. The Second International is irrevocably crushed. The intermediary parties and the "centre" groups, seeing their hopeless situation, are forced more strongly every day towards the Communist International, hoping, at the same time, to retain an "autonomy", which will allow them to continue their opportunist or "centrist" policy. The Communist International is to a certain extent the fashion. The wish of certain leading "centrist" groups to affiliate to the Communist International shows indirectly that the Third International has gained the sympathies of the majority of the class-conscious workers throughout the world, and that it constitutes a force which grows from day to day.

Under certain conditions the invasion of the Communist International by undecided and semi-Communist groups, who have not yet broken with the ideology of the Second International, might be a menace to it. Moreover, certain important Parties (Italian and Swedish), in which the majority hold Communist views, still remain amongst their numerous reformist and social-pacifist elements, who are only waiting for an opportunity to raise their heads and to sabotage actively the proletarian revolution, thus helping the bourgeoisie of the Second International. No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The union of the Hungarian Communists with the reformists cost them very dearly. This is why the Second Congress of the Communist International thinks it right to fix quite definitely the conditions for the admission of the parties, and the same time to point out to the Parties already affiliated what their obligations are.

The Second Congress of the Communist International has decided upon the following conditions of admission:

"1. The entire propaganda and agitation must bear a genuinely Communistic character and agree with the program and the decision of the Third International. All the press organs of the party must be managed by responsible Communists, who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be talked about as if it were an ordinary formula learned by heart, but it must be propagated for in such a way as to make its necessity apparent to every plain worker soldier and peasant through the facts of daily life, which must be systematically watched by our press and fully utilized from day to day.

Party Must Control Press.

"The periodical and non-periodical press and all party publishing concerns must be under the complete control of the party management, regardless of the fact of the moment legal or illegal. It is inadmissible for the publishing concerns to abuse their autonomy and to follow a policy which does not entirely correspond to the party's policy.

"In the columns of the press, at public meetings, in trade unions, in co-operatives, and in all other places where the supporters of the Third International are admitted, it is necessary systematically and unmercifully to brand, not only the bourgeoisie, but also its accomplices, the reformers of all types.

"2. Every organization that wishes to affiliate with the Communist International must regularly and systematically remove the reformist and centrist elements from all the more

or less important posts in the labor movement (in party organizations, editorial offices, trade unions, parliamentary groups, co-operatives, and municipal administrations) and replace them with welltried Communists, without taking offense at the fact that, especially in the beginning, the places of 'experienced' opportunists will be filled by plain workers from the masses.

Spurn Bourgeoisie Legality.

"3. In nearly every country of Europe and America the class struggle is entering upon the phase of civil war. Under such circumstances the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeoisie legality.

"It is their duty to create everywhere a parallel illegal organization machine which at the decisive moment will be helpful to the party in fulfilling its duty to the revolution.

"In all countries where the Communists, because of a state of siege and because of exceptional laws directed against them, are unable to carry on their whole work legally, it is absolutely necessary to combine legal with illegal activities.

One Day's Pay

The Second Convention of the Communist Party unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon the membership to contribute ONE DAY'S PAY to a national organization fund.

In accordance with the decision of the Convention, the C. E. C. issues this call to all members of the Communist Party to contribute one day's pay for the national organization.

Comrades, the need is great. You know it. We need not waste time and space telling you about it.

The Communist Party is unified and solidified on the basis of principles and tactics as never before in its history.

There are difficult tasks ahead of us—education, organization, propaganda and agitation.

The spirit, the will, the determination, the energy exist to carry on this highly important work.

BUT WITHOUT FUNDS WE CANNOT CARRY ON!

Comrades! Rally to the support of the Communist Party!

GIVE ONE DAY'S PAY TO MAKE THE PARTY A PARTY OF ACTION.

"4. The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special obligation to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in the army. A Communist nucleus must be formed in every unit. Where this agitation is forbidden by laws of exception it is to be carried on illegally. Renunciation of such activities would be the same as treason to revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership in the Third International.

Systematic Agitation Urged.

"5. It is necessary to carry on a systematic and well planned agitation in the country districts. The working class cannot triumph unless its policy will have insured it the support of the country proletariat and at least a part of the poorer farmers, and the neutrality of part of the rest of the village population. The Communistic work in the country is gaining greatly in importance at the present time.

"It must principally be carried on with the help of the revolutionary Communist workers of the city and the country. Renunciation of this work or its transfer to unreliable semi-reformist hands is equal to renunciation of the proletarian revolution.

"6. Every party wishing to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social-pacifism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social-pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of

the workers the fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of an international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a 'democratic' renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars.

Must Break With Reformism.

"7. The parties wishing to belong to the Communist International are obligated to proclaim a clean break with the reformism and with the policy of the 'centre' and to propagate this break throughout the ranks of the entire party membership. Without this a logical Communist policy is impossible.

"The Communist International demands unconditionally and in the form of an ultimatum the execution of this break within a very brief period. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to a condition that would allow notorious opportunists, such as are now represented by Turati, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hilquit, Longuet, MacDonald et al., to have the right to be counted as members of the Third International. That could only lead to the Third International resembling to a high degree the dead Second International.

"8. In the matter of colonies and oppressed nations a particularly clear-cut stand by the parties is necessary in those countries whose bourgeoisie is in possession of colonies and oppresses other nations.

"Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to unmask the tricks of its own imperialists in the colonies, to support every movement for freedom in the colonies, not only with words but with deeds, to demand the expulsion of its native imperialists from those colonies, to create in the hearts of the workers of its own country a genuine fraternal feeling for the working population of the colonies and for the oppressed nations and to carry on a systematic agitation among the troops of its own country against all oppression of the colonial peoples.

"9. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must systematically and persistently develop a Communist agitation within the trade unions, the workers' and shop-councils, the co-operatives of consumption and other mass organization of the workers.

"Within these organizations it is necessary to organize Communist nuclei which, through continuous and persistent work, are to win over the trade unions, etc. for the cause of Communism. These nuclei are obligated in their daily work everywhere to expose the treason of social patriots and the instability of the 'centre'. The Communist nuclei must be completely under the control of the party as a whole.

"10. Every party belonging to the Communist International is obligated to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam 'International' of the yellow trade unions. It must carry on a most emphatic propaganda among the workers organized in trade unions for a break with the yellow Amsterdam International. With all its means it must support the rising international association of the Red trade unions which affiliate with the Communist International.

Must Watch Parliamentarians.

"11. Parties wishing to belong to the Third International are obligated to subject the personnel of the parliamentary groups to a revision, to cleanse these groups of all unreliable elements, and to make these groups subject to the party executives, not only in form but in fact, by demanding that each Communist member of Parliament subordinate his entire activities to the interests of genuine revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

"12. The parties belonging to the Communist International must be built upon the principle of democratic centralization. In the present epoch of acute civil war the Communist Party will only be in a position to do its duty if it is organized along extremely centralized lines, if it is controlled by iron discipline.

(Continued on Page 8)

THE COMMUNIST

Official organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA
published by the
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Vol. 2 October 1st, 1920. N 11

Hillquit's Attack on the Communist International.

We can accord a certain amount of sympathy to a self-confessed bourgeois pacifist like Bertrand Russell. He tells you quite openly what he doesn't like. One feels, reading his articles, that he is genuinely horrified at some of the things he witnessed in Russia. Particularly is he dismayed at the manner in which the Russian Communist Party wields its stern power over the institutions of Soviet Russia. The Third International—the organized, revolutionary proletarian vanguard of the world,—is to him anathema.

But when a hypocritical, petty-bourgeois reformer, masquerading as a revolutionary Socialist, like Morris Hillquit, spews his venom upon the Third International—it is nauseating. It makes one sick to one's stomach to read his thinly-veiled but vicious attack as printed in the N. Y. Call of September 23rd. An Ebert, or Noske, turning Junker machine-guns upon the revolutionary workers are honest men by comparison.

His article is compound of the fulminations of a fool, and a scoundrel. There is not a single note of sincerity throughout. He whines apologetically, with his tongue in his cheek, as when he bemoans the fact that "for some reason, I have had the misfortune of incurring the particular wrath of the autocrat of the Communist International, and have been repeatedly held out as one of the horrible examples of Socialist apostasy." (Italics ours) Think of It! This intellectual prostitute, who, as the recognized leader is responsible for every act of commission and omission of the Socialist Party ever since its inception, wonders why He has incurred the particular wrath of the "Autocrat of the Communist International"! This renegade, who joined the Socialist Party to the bourgeois pacifist outfit during the war, merging with the Peoples Council—this traitor, who concurred by his silence and acts the social-patriotic activities of Meyer, London, Daniel Hoan, Algeron Lee, and others;—this scoundrel, who issued the ukase leading to the expulsion of all Left Wing elements from the S. P. last year—this "heroic" defender of the ousted Assemblymen at Albany whose defense brought down upon his head the denunciation and condemnation of every member of his own party with a shred of self-respect left—this reactionary leader who, at the last convention of his party forced the elimination of the clauses from the constitution forbidding Socialist legislators to vote for war appropriations and compelling Socialist candidates to place their signed resignations in the hands of the party,—in order to make the party sufficiently respectable to sit with Sweet & Co. in the State Legislature—this opportunist who brought down upon his head the denunciation framed the most conservative program in the same convention—this intellectual pervert the program of the so-called Lefts who wanted to bring in an innocuous clause stating that all power during the transition period must be in the hands of the workers—this unspeakable caricature of a Socialist dares to whine publicly that for "SOME REASON" he has incurred the particular wrath of the Third International!

As if still ignorant is not sufficiently acquainted with Socialist philosophy to know that he is not being attacked as an individual but as a recognized leader and exponent of opportunism and reformism in the United States, like Kautsky in Germany, Longuet in France, MacDonald and Snowden in England, etc.

Or, take another attempt of his to cover up his treachery to the working class in explaining "While the Socialists of England, France and the United States and the Independent Socialists of Germany rallied wholeheartedly to the defense of the Soviet Government in the face of vilification and attacks

of practically the whole body of their non-Socialist countrymen, the official spokesmen of the Moscow International expressed their appreciation of this manifestation of international Socialist solidarity by publicly denouncing them as renegades and traitors".

In what way has the "wholehearted defense" of Soviet Russia by the Socialist Party differed from the defense of Soviet Russia by bourgeois liberals? No amount of hypocritical laudation by the S. P. over an accomplished proletarian revolution abroad can cover up its treachery to the revolutionary movement at home.

Lenin's castigation of these social-patriotic "sympathizers" with the Russian revolution exposes Hillquit's hypocritical pretenses:

"All the scoundrel-leaders of the 'Borne International' have on their lips declarations of their 'sympathy' toward revolution in general, and toward the Russian revolution in particular. But only hypocrites and fools cannot understand, that the exceedingly rapid successes of the Revolution in Russia are the result of the work of many years of the revolutionary party in the direction, of the building up systematically for years of an underground (illegal) apparatus for the leadership of demonstrations and strikes, for the work among the troops, of the study and creation of underground literature, summing up the results of their experiences and educating the whole party to the idea of the necessity of revolution, training and preparing leaders of the masses for such occasions, etc. etc." (Lenin on Ramsey MacDonald)

Furthermore it must be remembered that KERENSKY and not Lenin was the God of Social Democracy the world over, in the early days of the revolution. The N. Y. Call referred to the Bolsheviks as "anarchists" in those days. And the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party waited months before endorsing the Soviet Government, and only then after its membership compelled it. What a convenient memory Hillquit possesses!.

One of the main reasons, according to Hillquit, which impelled him to attack the Third International, is his desire "to clarify the issues between Socialism of the Western type and the new doctrines from 'Moscow.' Notice how cleverly he lets the reader infer that there is only one kind of Socialism—his kind—while the 'new doctrines' from Moscow, well—they may be anarchism, or Blanquism, but they are not Socialism.

Leaving aside his perversion of Marx's definition of the transition period, leaving aside his corruption of Zinoviev's statement that the recognition of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat is the general unifying program and the main difference between the Communists and social-patriots and traitors of all brands, Hillquit draws the following conclusions as constituting the difference between "Socialism" of the Western type and the new doctrines from Moscow: "1. France, England, Germany and the United States have not entered upon the period of entire Socialist transformation".

2. "We all accept the Marxian assertion that the political form of the "transitional" state must be a 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' but, "our differences arise only on the proper interpretation of the term 'dictatorship' in the above phrase."

2. Opposition to Soviet power, and favoring a Constituent Assembly.

4. There is no Third International.

Reduced to plain language Hillquit means that he is opposed to the proletarian revolution, that he is opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, that he is opposed to Soviet power, that he is opposed to the Third (Communist) International.

Hillquit's "Socialism of the Western type" turns out to be nothing else than phrasemongering of the Second International. What Lenin said to MacDonald can be very aptly applied to Hillquit.

"The most dangerous coming from the Berne International--is the LIP-SERVICE recognition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. THESE MEN ARE APT TO RECOGNIZE ANYTHING, TO SIGN ANYTHING, IN ORDER TO REMAIN AT THE HEAD OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT. Kautsky already

says that he is not opposed to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, French social-patriotism and "Centrists" also sign under the resolution for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (So does Willquit.)

"They do not deserve any confidence whatsoever.

Not lip-service recognition is necessary, but the actual rupture with the policies of reformism, with the prejudices of bourgeois freedom, bourgeois democracy, the actual CAHRING ON THE POLICIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS STRUGGLE.

"They attempt to recognize the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in words, in order secretly to read into it the 'will of the majority', 'general suffrage' (Kautsky precisely is doing this thing) bourgeois parliamentarism, the refusal for the complete destruction of the bourgeois state machinery. We would guard ourselves against these new tricks, against these new lackeys of reformism more than anything else'.

Intellectually and spiritually Hillquit still belongs to the Berne International. The leopard cannot change its spots. The Second International is his god and Kautsky is his only prophet.

The I. W. W.
Moves to the Left
FOREWORD.

The following resolutions, reprinted from the ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY for September, which are being submitted to the membership of the I. W. W. for referendum vote is a clear indication that the rank and file of the I. W. W. is waking up. The Communist agitation is beginning to bear fruit. However, it is too much to expect that the resolution favoring unreserved affiliation with the Third International will be carried. Most probably the second resolution, in favor of an Economic Industrial International will be carried instead. This only means that we must redouble our propaganda to the rank and file of the I. W. W. Members of the Communist Party who are members of the I. W. W. should take constructive action by organizing a Communist section in the I. W. W. similar to the Left Wing Section in the S. P. before the split of last year and supplement the outside Communist agitation by direct internal intensive agitation and pave the way for capturing the next general elections. of the organization. (Editor, the Communist.)

1. Moved by McClellan, Seconded by Mashlykin,
That we endorse the Third-International.
Motion lost.
- For: McClellan, Mashlykin, Against: Brown, Nordquist, Lessig, Sullivan and Fisher.
2. Moved by Brown, Seconded by Sullivan.
That we do not endorse the Third International Officially, and that we notify the Third International that our position makes it impossible to endorse same as it is outlined in the Zinoviev appeal to the I. W. W., and that we are in favor of an Economic Industrial International. Motion carried. For: Brown, Lessig, Sullivan, Nordquist, Against: Fisher, McClellan, Mashlykin.
3. Moved by Lessig Seconded by Nordquist.
That we endorse the Third International with reservation, as follows: that we reserve the right to develop our own tactics according to conditions prevailing. Motion carried.
For: Nordquist, Lessig, Sullivan, Fisher.
Against: Brown, McClellan, Mashlykin not voting.
4. Moved by McClellan, Secnded by Mashlykin that the three above propositions be submitted to the membership for a referendum vote. Motion carried.

The syndicalist attempt at revolution in Italy has fizzled out, as was to be expected. This tragic defeat of the Italian workers exposes glaringly the fallacy and impotency of the syndicalist and I. W. W. theory and tactics. The Italian situation contains a very valuable object lesson of the futility of "seizing the industries and locking out the bosses", while leaving the capitalist state intact, and throws into bold relief the program of the Communist Party--the organization of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard into a highly centralized political party, the destruction of the bourgeois state machinery by means of mass action (armed insurrection and civil war), and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of a Soviet Government as the ONLY means of ushering in the Communist society.

The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism.

BY G. ZINOVIEV.

FOREWORD.

The following thesis on the Communist Party and Industrial Unionism, issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, is particularly valuable in this country where the ideas of the I. W. W. still find favor with a number of class-conscious workers both within and without the Communist movement. It clearly defines the scope of activities of industrial unionism before and during the proletarian dictatorship—and proves that unless the industrial unions work under the guidance and direction of the Communist Party, they tend to pernicious forms of syndicalism which hamper the revolutionary movement.

In this connection it is important to mention that the ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY of the I. W. W. brazenly accept what this thesis calls "the worst features of syndicalism" as its own position.

It is also interesting to mention the internal controversy going on in the W. I. I. U. among political parties and industrial unions as the leaders in the revolutionary labor movement. The editor of their official organ, recently resigned because he disagreed with the S. L. P.—W. I. I. U. position on this question thus creating a veritable tempest in the latter organization.

This thesis, as well as the thesis on the ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, printed in a previous issue should go a long way in clarifying this issue to the membership of the Communist Party. But, to make our agitation effective it is necessary that members of the party should spread this idea in their shops and unions, particularly in the I. W. W., O. B. U. and independent industrial unions.

(Editor—Communist)

THE PURPOSE AND STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION.

To arrive at a clear understanding of the proper relationship of the Communist Party and the workers' industrial organizations, one must first examine the purpose and structure of industrial organization.

According to Webb, the aim "is to maintain and increase the standard of wages." Brentano and Sombart say that the object is "to subsidize the members in time of strike, and to safeguard their interests by increasing their wages."

The Bolshevik Party has never given its adhesion to these phrases. It has never approved the formula generally accepted by the Second International. This was defined by a well-known Austrian militant industrialist, Adolf Braun, as the organization of the workers "in permanent craft or Trade Unions of wage earners, with the object of securing ameliorations of working conditions within the limits of the capitalist system, and to fight within those limits to prevent conditions growing worse."

In the controversy with the Mensheviks in 1912, the Bolshevik Party laid the rule down that the workers should be organized in a Union covering the entire industry, not merely a sectional craft trade within the industry.

The Communist Party declared that the industrial unions should conduct the economic fight of the workers, and should constantly collaborate with the workers' political party in the working class struggle for emancipation, the abolition of wage slavery, and the victory of Socialism.

For this reason the Bolshevik Party has never considered the industrial Union as an organization aspiring only to secure some reforms and ameliorations of working conditions within the limits of capitalist society. On the contrary, the Bolshevik Party, in complete accord with the doctrine of Marx, has always seen that the industrial Union is one of the most important organizations of the working class; one that has been created for the fight for Socialism in intimate collaboration with the political party, and one that, in consequence, is favorable to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Since 1912 important changes have come about in Russia. The power has passed into the hands of the working class. The bourgeoisie has been expropriated; the workers are no longer obliged to sell their labor power to the divers exploiting employers.

If we consider that fact, it immediately becomes clear to us that the functions of the industrial unions in Russia are subject to important modifications.

A STATEMENT BY THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS.

The resolution adopted at the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions in 1918 is as follows:

"The October Revolution, which transferred the power from the bourgeoisie to the workers

and poor peasants, has created entirely new conditions for all the workers' organizations, and especially for the industrial Unions.

"Under the changed conditions, the industrial organization can no longer be regarded as the advance guard of the fight put up by the worker in selling himself to the employer. The employer who used to buy labor power of old, exists no more. It is no longer necessary for the Unions to collect strike funds or to organize strikes.

THE PRESENT FUNCTION OF RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS.

What are the real functions of the industrial organizations in Russia today?

The same resolution of the First All-Russian Congress of industrial Unions says on this point:

"The Unions must now transfer their center of gravity to economic reconstructions."

To explain what an industrial organization really is under the conditions now obtaining in Russia, one is first obliged to make clear that:

"An industrial Union in Russia today is a permanent union of all the workers in a given industry; it represents one of the principal bases of the organization of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

"The industrial Union today (under the guidance of the Communist Party) transfers its center of gravity to the domain of economic organization, by making its aim an energetic participation in all the efforts of the workers for a Communist reconstruction of society and for the abolition of social classes. This participation takes the following forms:—

"(1) General co-operation in the organization of production on a Communist basis.

"(2) The re-establishment of the productive power of the country, which was destroyed by the war and the internal crisis.

"(3) The calculation and redistribution of labor for the entire country.

"(4) The organization of the exchange between town and country.

"(5) The introduction of the obligation to work.

"(6) Helping the State Departments to provide food.

"(7) Helping to solve the fuel crisis and other difficulties.

"(8) Giving general aid to the formation of the Red army.

"(9) Defending the economic interest of the workers, and at the same time fighting against the individualist tendencies and the short-sighted views of that section of the workers which, because of its ignorance, still retains the habit of regarding the Proletarian state of today as though it were the old employer.

"Because the industrial organization of today are the Communist schools of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, they have become, little by little, an integral part of the general mechanism of the state. They are one of the organs of the state of working people who submit to the rule of the Soviets because the Soviets are the vehicle indicated by history for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOVIETS

The industrial Unions work in conjunction with the Communist Party and the Soviets. The activities of these three institutions are closely linked. To make clear the relations of these bodies, it must be remembered that the Soviets actually include larger masses than the industrial Unions themselves; also that the Soviets have taken over part of the functions of the industrial Unions.

The English Congress of the Russian Communist Party has given the following definition of the party and of the Soviets:—

"The Soviets are the state organization of the workers and poor peasants which effectuate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat during the period when the state in all its forms is gradually being extinguished. The Soviets unite within their ranks ten million workers, and, little by little, must strive to include the entire class of workers and poor peasants.

"The Communist Party, on the other hand, is an organization which takes in only the advanced guard of the workers and poor peasants; only that part of these two classes which fights consciously for the practical application of the Communist program. The aim of the Communist Party is to obtain a preponderating influence and complete control of all the workers organizations, the industrial Unions, the Co-operatives, the rural Communists, and so on. The Communist Party strives especially to introduce its program into the actual organizations of state—the Soviets—and to obtain complete control there. No doubt can exist that in the future that various existing organizations of the workers will be finally united in one form. It is useless to speculate today as to which form will prove the most durable. Our present duty is to determine precisely between the Communist Party, the industrial Unions, and the Soviets.

THE THEORY OF THE EQUALITY OF RIGHTS

Even amongst the more hopeful section of the old International, the opinion was very prevalent that the Communist Party on the one hand, and the industrial Unions on the other hand, were organizations of equal value—having the same rights—organizations which collaborate on important questions of all kinds, like two contracting parties. The Socialist Party should control the political side, while the industrial

Unions controlled the economic side. Thus, for example, the German Social-Democrats passed a resolution, supported even by August Bebel, stating that if it should ever be necessary, this question could only be decided by a conference between the executive of the party and the general committee of the Trade Unions.

From the Communist viewpoint this opinion cannot be recognized. The equality of rights theory has always been disputed by the revolutionary Marxists.

From the revolutionary Marxian viewpoint, the Communist Party is the ultimate reunion of all phases of the struggle of the working class for freedom from the capitalist yoke. The Communist Party makes use of a whole arsenal of arms to win this fight. The political struggle is indissolubly bound up with the economic struggle. The Communist Party shows the way for the economic as well as the political struggle.

The Communist Party is the advance guard of the proletariat. By the torch of Communism it lights up all the turnings of the road leading to the emancipation of the workers. On this account, the work which the Communists are doing in the industrial Unions is but a fraction of the work which the Communist Party, as such, are doing.

During a period of dictatorship like that we in Russia are now passing through, one can still less think of any compromise with the equality of rights theory. The least deviation in this direction must be strenuously fought, in theory as well as in practice.

THE "NON-PARTY" TRADE UNIONS.

The present industrial Unions are not necessary under the Communist Party. All workers both men and women, are received into them irrespective of their party or creed. A worker who does not belong to the Party has the full right to join our industrial Unions. But on that account Communists who work in the industrial Unions should not fail to pay attention to the conservative character of the members who do not belong to the Party. The Communists, and the Communist group, in the industrial Unions must preach Communism openly. The leaders of the industrial Unions must constantly draw the attention of the workers to this fact that the enemies of Communism, not belonging to the Party, are trying to deceive them. They should explain to the workers why the industrial Union, just while they are not formally members of our Party, always help the Communist Party, recognizing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and defending the Power of the Soviets and the World Revolution.

THE MODERN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

The modern industrial Unions are doing an enormous work, and they greatly facilitate the struggle for Socialism made by the Communist Party and the Soviets. But at the same time there is, during our transition, a dark side to the activity of the industrial Unions. For example, some branches of the Dock Laborers' Union on the Volga support the wage demands of their short-sighted individual members (without even having helped the Soviets in their fight against the incredible thefts which have been committed by the dockyard workers); they prove they are very much behind the times, and that they are incapable of rising above the narrow interests of their group. When certain associations of clerks and other similar commercial associations introduce people into the Soviet institutions, who are not fit to do the work which is entrusted to them, and when these associations take up the demands of their members, forgetting that they no longer have to deal with employers, but with the Proletarian State, they also prove their Trade Unions' narrowness. The fight against the negative parties of the working class movement is one of the chief duties of the Communists in the industrial Unions.

At a time when the best elements in French Syndicalism are abandoning their former errors, and moving towards Communism in laying down the principle: "All power to the Workers' councils", there are working class groups and circles in Russia which are trying to revive the worst features of syndicalism. The famous Left Wing Social Revolutionary Party recently adopted a resolution demanding the transfer of the whole administration of industry and transport to the Central Committee of the industrial Unions. It further proposed that common action should be taken by that committee and the industrial organizations of the whole world for the entire management of the Social Revolution and the world control of industry and transport by a combine of industrial Unions. The Communists who work in the industrial Unions should strongly oppose syndicalist tendencies of this kind.

SO-CALLED "INDUSTRIALISM"

It is equally necessary to turn against the tendencies known by the name of "industrialism", which are defended by some members of the Russian working class movement who are members of the executive committee of the All-Russian Metallurgical Union.

The industrialist want to erect our entire office on the skilled workers, and to put aside the whole mass of unskilled workers. Doubtless the war and the revolution have led to many fundamental changes in the social structure of the proletariat itself. There is no possible doubt about it. The factory worker of today is certainly the most developed of the proletariat. But in no case can it be the task of the Communists, men of the working class, only to elect skilled workers, who form a minority of the working class. The Communist ideas have nothing in common with the propagation of the working class aristocracy. On the contrary, the task of the Com-

(Continued on page 7)

Now the Communist Party in Russia,

The Communist Party and Parliamentarism.

THESES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, PRESENTED TO THE SECOND CONGRESS.

(1) In a number of countries in Western Europe and America, one of the burning questions of Communist tactics is that of the Parliamentary struggle. The split in the German Communist Party, the formation of an anti-Parliamentary fraction in the Italian Party, the position of the Belgian Communist group, the disputes in the ranks of the British Communists, and, finally, the attitude of revolutionary syndicalist circles and of the I. W. W.—all these necessitate clear and definite guidance on the part of the Communist International.

(2) Parliamentarism as a State system is the "democratic" form of bourgeois supremacy, which requires, at a certain stage of its development, the fiction of the popular representation. The latter, outwardly the organization of the people's will in respect of classes, in reality is a machine of oppression and oppression in the hands of dominant capitalism.

(3) Parliamentarism is a definite form of State structure. Consequently it can in no way be a form of Communist society, which knows neither classes, nor the class struggle, nor any form of State whatsoever.

(4) Parliamentarism cannot even be the form of the proletarian government during the period of transition from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment of intensified class struggle, passing into civil war, the proletariat must inevitably build up its State organization as a fighting organization, into which representatives of the former ruling classes cannot be admitted. At such a stage, any fiction of "the general will" is directly harmful to the proletariat; and similarly unnecessary and harmful is the Parliamentary division of functions. The Soviet Republic represents the form of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

(5) The bourgeois parliaments, which represent one of the important parts of the bourgeois State apparatus, cannot be conquered, just as the bourgeois State itself cannot be conquered by the proletariat. The problem before the proletariat consist in blowing up the bourgeois State machine, in destroying it, and destroying with it all parliamentary institutions whether of a republic or of a constitutional monarchy.

(6) The same applies to the bourgeois local authorities, which, from a theoretical point of view, it is incorrect to distinguish from the organs of the State. In reality, they are just as much parts of the bourgeois State mechanism, which will have to be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat, and replaced by local Councils of Workers' Deputies.

(7) Consequently, Communism repudiates parliamentarism as a form of the future; it repudiates the possibility of conquering parliaments; it lays down as its aim the destruction of parliamentarism. For this reason there can be a question only of utilizing the bourgeois State institutions with the object of their destruction. On this, and only on this plan, can the question be discussed.

(8) Every class struggle is a political struggle, since, in the long run, it is a struggle for power. Any strike which spreads throughout the country begins to threaten the bourgeois State, and thereby acquires a political character. To strive to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and to destroy its State apparatus, by whatever means, signifies to carry on a political struggle. The creation of a class apparatus—for the task of government and to crush the opposition of the bourgeoisie (whatever be the nature of that apparatus) means the conquest of political power.

(9) Consequently, the question of the political struggle is not at all the same as the question of our attitude towards parliamentarism. It is the general question of the class struggle of the proletariat, in the measure that the struggle is for the overthrow of the capitalist order.

(10) The fundamental method of struggle employed by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, i.e., against its State power, is, first and foremost, the method of mass action. Mass action is organized and directed by the mass organizations of the proletariat, under the general guidance of a strongly knitted, disciplined centralized Communist Party. The civil struggle is a war. In that war the proletariat must have its efficient corps of political officers, its efficient political general staff directing all operations in all spheres of the conflict.

(11) The mass struggle represents a whole system of developing demonstrations, becoming more and more intensified in their form, and logically leading to a rising against the capitalist State. In this mass struggle, unfolding itself into a civil war, the guiding party of the proletariat must, as a general rule, consolidate in its rear any and every legal position, making them subsidiary strong points in its revolutionary work, and subordinating them to the plan of the chief campaign, that of the mass struggle.

(12) One of these subordinate strong points is the floor of the bourgeois parliament. It is not permissible to urge against participation in parliamentary action that parliament is an institution of the bourgeois state. The Communist Party enters that institution not for the purpose of carrying on organic work there, but in order to blow up the bourgeois machinery of govern-

ment, and parliament itself, from within (e.g., the activity of Liebknecht in Germany, of the Bolsheviks in the Imperial Duma, in the "Democratic Conference" in Kerensky's "Pre-parliament," finally, in the "Constituent Assembly," and likewise in the town councils).

(13) This work in parliament, which resolves itself mainly into revolutionary agitation from the floor of the House, exposure of opponents, the proclamation of watchwords for the masses, etc., must in its entirety be subordinated to the forms and problems of the mass struggle outside parliament.

(14) For this, the following conditions are essential:—

1. The absence of any form of "autonomy" for the Communist groups in Parliament, and their unquestioning subordination to the central committee of the Party.

2. Constant control and guidance on the part of the executive committee.

3. The arrangement of simultaneous demonstrations both within and without parliament.

4. A revolutionary attitude in parliament itself, i.e., the absence of any fear "on principle" of transgressing the rules of parliamentary debate.

5. The execution by Communist members of parliament of non-parliamentary work, especially in connection with mass demonstrations.

6. Constant touch with the illegal work of the Party, and the utilization of parliamentary privilege, so far as the latter exist, in this direction.

7. The immediate recall or expulsion from the Party of every member of the parliamentary group who, in his parliamentary work, disobeys the order of the Party.

(15) The electoral campaign itself must be carried on not in a spirit of pursuit of the maximum number of parliamentary seats, but in the spirit of the revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the watchwords of the proletarian revolution. The electoral campaign must be carried on by the whole mass of the members of the party, and not only by the leaders. It is necessary to utilize and be in complete contact with all mass actions taking place at the given moment (strikes, demonstrations, movements among soldiers and sailors, etc.). It is necessary to involve in active work all the mass organizations of the proletariat.

(16) If these conditions are observed parliamentarism work represents the complete antithesis of that dirty political scheming carried on by the Social-Democratic parties of all countries, who enter parliament to support that "democratic" institution, or, at best, to "conquer" it. The Communist Party can stand only and exclusively for the revolutionary utilization of parliamentarism, as practised by Karl Liebknecht, Hoglund, and the Bolsheviks.

(17) Anti-parliamentarism "on principle," in the sense of an absolute and categorical refusal to participate in elections and in revolutionary parliamentary struggle, thus appears as a naive, childish doctrine, unable to bear criticism, which sometimes has its foundation in a healthy disgust at parliamentary politicians, but which at the same time does not realize the possibilities of revolutionary parliamentarism. In addition, this doctrine is frequently connected with a completely inaccurate understanding of the part to be played by the Party, which it views not as the fighting centralized vanguard of the workers, but as a decentralized system of feebly connected revolutionary groups.

(18) On the other hand, there does not follow from the recognition of the principle of parliamentary work the absolute recognition of the necessity, under all and any circumstances, of actual elections, or of actual participation in the sessions of parliament. Here the question depends on a series of specific conditions. With a certain grouping of these conditions, it may become necessary to leave parliament. This is what the Bolsheviks did when they left the Pre-parliament in order to "blow it up," at once rendering it helpless and placing in sharp opposition to it the Petrograd Soviet, which was about to take charge of the insurrection. This is what they did in the Constituent Assembly on the day of its dissolution, transferring all their activity to the second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Under different circumstances it may be necessary to boycott elections and organize a direct violent attack on the bourgeois parliamentary clique; or to participate in elections while boycotting parliament itself, and so on.

(19) In this way, while recognizing, as a general rule, the necessity of participating in elections, both to central parliaments and to the taking part in the work of those institutions, organs of local self-government, as well as of the Communist Party must decide the question concretely, basing itself on the peculiar conditions of the actual moment. The boycott of elections or of parliament, and similarly the abandonment of the latter, are permissible, speaking generally, when conditions exist for a direct transition to an armed struggle for power.

(20) It is necessary constantly to keep in mind the relative unimportance of this question. If the centre of gravity lies in the struggle for power outside parliament, then it follows as a matter of course that the question of proletarian

dictatorship, and of the mass struggle for the latter, is not on a par with the minor question about the utilization of parliamentarism.

(21) The Communist International, therefore, declares in the most categorical fashion that it considers as a crime against the Labor movement any split, or attempt at a split, within the Communist parties on this point. The Congress summons all elements standing for the mass struggle for proletarian dictatorship under the guidance of the centralized party of the revolutionary proletariat, which exercises its influence in all the mass organizations of the working class, to strive for the complete unity of all Communist elements in spite of any possible divergence on the question of parliamentarism.

Annex to Thesis on Parliamentarism.

BY G. ZINOVIEV.

To Communist members of bourgeois parliaments and municipal bodies, and to the Central Committees of Communist Parties, whose duty it is to direct the Communist groups in bourgeois parliaments.

The opposition to the Communists entering the bourgeois parliaments is sustained mostly by the recollections of Social-Democratic parliamentarism during the epoch of the Second International. The conduct of the majority of the Social-Democratic members in the bourgeois parliaments was really so unprincipled and, frequently, treacherous, that this bitter experience cannot be forgotten by the working class.

That is why it is necessary for the Communist International, which has in the interest of the revolution advocated the utilization of the parliamentary tribune by the Communists, to observe very strictly the activity of the Communist members, and to take all measures to create a new type of revolutionary parliamentarian, a parliamentary Communist warrior.

To this end it is necessary that:—
1. The Communist Party as a whole, and its Central Committee, should, during the preparatory stage, i.e., before the parliamentary elections, inspect very carefully the quality of the personnel of the parliamentary group. The Central Committee should be responsible for all the work of the parliamentary Communist group. The Central Committee must have the undeniable right to reject any candidate of any organization, if it is not perfectly convinced that such candidate will carry on a real Communist policy when in parliament.

The Communist Parties must desert from the old Social-Democratic habit of electing as deputies only the so-called "experienced" parliamentarians—chiefly lawyers and so forth. As a rule, it is necessary to put workmen forward as candidates, without troubling about the fact that these may sometimes be simple rank-and-file workers, without much parliamentary experience. The Communist Party must treat with merciless contempt those elements who try to make a career by joining the party just before the elections in order to get into Parliament. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties must sanction the candidature of only such men as have, by long years of work, proved their unwavering loyalty to the working class.

2. When the elections are over the organizations of the parliamentary group must be wholly in the hands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—whether the party as a whole is a lawful or illegal one at the given moment. The chairman and the president of the parliamentary Communist group must be confirmed in their functions by the Central Committee of the Party. The Central Committee of the Party must have its permanent representative in the parliamentary group, with the right of veto. On all important political questions the parliamentary Communist group must be bound by instructions from the Central Committee of the Party.

Previously to any important demonstration of the Communists in parliament, the Central Committee must be entitled and bound to appoint or reject the orator of the faction, to demand of him to hand in beforehand the text of his speech, or the text, for confirmation by the Central Committee, etc. Every candidate entered on the Communist list must sign a statement to the effect that, at the first request of the Central Committee of the Party, he is bound to give up his mandate, so that the Party can obtain a new election.

3. In countries where reformist, semi-reformist, or simply career-seeking elements have managed to penetrate into the parliamentary Communist groups (as has already happened in several countries) the Central Committees of the Communist Parties are bound radically to weed out the personnel of the groups, on the principle that it is better for the cause of the working class to have a small but truly Communist group than a numerous one without a regular Communist line of conduct.

4. A Communist deputy, on the decision of the Central Committee, is bound to combine legal work with illegal work. In countries where the Communist deputy still enjoys a certain inviolability, the latter must be utilized by way of rendering assistance to the illegal organization and propaganda of the Party.

5. The Communist members shall make all their parliamentary work dependent on the work of the Party outside parliament. The

(Continued on Page 7)

Vantus and Haubrich

BY BELA KUN.

So be it! Better to break than to tolerate the confusion which hinders the ideal, the theoretical revolutionary growth.... It is better to perish than to tolerate and condone mediocrity and irresolution.

Lenin.

We know that what we are about to say will arouse the bitter resentment of those, who, hide-bound in their middle-class prejudices, are incapable of ever becoming true revolutionaries. It will enrage the revolutionary defeatists, whose fickleness and instability leads them to perpetual moralizing, and whose petty dilettantism betrays itself in constant vacillation. No doubt they will say that it is easy to talk boldly from a safe distance. Let them.

They will launch their fiery denunciations at our heads. Let them. Denunciations have become their daily bread. They will accuse us of attacking men who are helpers in Horthy's power. Let them. It is part of their aimless demagoguery to do so.

What we are about to say must be said, it must be said, because we must make good our own errors. We have to make good what we lost through sentimental weakness, and through miscalculation. We have to make reparation for having only vaguely warned, and not sufficiently impressed upon the proletarian masses, that among their leaders, were men who were sabotaging their cause; who, from malevolent intention, or from weakness and inconstancy, were supporting the counter-revolution, and betraying the power of the workers. We must make reparation, or at least do penance for the sin of having tolerated men, who gave the impression that they were leading the march of revolution, when, in reality, they were limping in the rear; men, who by their evil example, and counter-revolutionary conduct, were tripping up and opposing the onrush of revolution, by delaying to speak, we should become their accomplices.

Crime to Tolerate Revolutionaries.

We shall shock the senile dodderers; the morphia-slaves and the degenerates who, plagued with an evil conscience, and who can never come to any resolute decision, will be outraged. They will say we are aiding Horthy and his gang in their hangman's work. Nevertheless, we must speak—it is our duty as revolutionary Communists. If what the utterances press is telling the world about the utterances of these two former People's Commissaries corresponds with the truth—and from our experiences of the Dictatorship, we know that it does—we must guiltily acknowledge that it was a crime to have tolerated them in our ranks, and above all to have tolerated them in the ranks of the Communists. The sin is ours, we must acknowledge it, and we shall have to labor long in the cause of the proletarian revolution before that sin is expiated.

We shall be told that it is easy to talk from the security of a foreign country, and that those who sought safety in flight have no right to question the courage of others. These admonitions do not perturb us. Our conscience is clear. Nevertheless, all our sympathy—our active sympathy, as far as it lies in our power—is with the revolutionary proletarians, who are languishing in Horthy's dungeons, planning how best to escape the gallows and their ruthless inquisitors. When the Dictatorship fell, we fled from Hungary, refusing to allow ourselves to be imprisoned by Pled's government, which incarcerated Otto Korvin and so many of our martyred brothers. Every proletarian knows that by fleeing the country, we are not renouncing or betraying the revolution. They fled—or stayed at home—so that they might sell the Bolshevik cause to which they had professed allegiance; so that they might call those who had fulfilled their revolutionary task. Red hangmen; so that they might sell the skin of the working-class to the bourgeoisie—but, nevertheless, acquired it, not by purchase, but by armed violence, rejecting the aid of these social democratic accomplices.

Flight Not Cowardice.

In itself, flight is not cowardice; nor is it heroism to remain at home. The test is why one fled, or why one stayed at home. Was it to labor for the revolution and the emancipation of the workers, or to betray the revolution and the workers. Still further. Did he do it in the expectation that by staying at home he could go on working for the emancipation of the working-class, or to protect himself—that is the vital question—or to take service with the bourgeoisie?

Those who are laboring for the revival of the revolution and for the re-establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the only means of emancipation, the workers can safely affirm that the two men whose names form the title of this article, and who formerly figured amongst the fighters in the ranks of the working-class, must from henceforward be counted with the betrayers of the working-class. They are the Communist Vantus, and the Social-Democrat Haubrich. We do not wish to harm them through these lines. We cannot thus damage them in the eyes of Horthy's judges more than they have damaged themselves by their own declarations, in which they confessed to sabotage of the Dictator-

ship and to counter-revolutionary activities. It would be sheer stupidity to expect a Communist, even the most heroic, to make his defence before his executioners on a occasion for Communist propaganda, unless he had abandoned all hope. The virtue of consistent veracity becomes a criminal folly in the face of the declared enemy.

It may sound paradoxical, but these two men are to be counted betrayers of the working-class just because they did tell the truth while on their trial before Horthy's judges. They stated that they had sabotaged the proletarian revolution even in the days before the Dictatorship of the workers, by their inopportune habits, by slackness and indulgence, by bad example, and total neglect of their duties. They were telling the truth when they asserted that they had accepted important posts in the Proletarian State, without conviction of enthusiasm, at a time when the conscientious execution of duty was a matter of life or death for the working-class. They accepted these posts, not from conviction, not because they felt they possessed superior political gifts, not from misapprehension, but nevertheless honest intentions, taken, but nevertheless honest intentions, but—why?

One of them publicly acknowledged that he had participated in the counter-revolution, which during the Dictatorship, as well as afterwards, was responsible for the lives of many heroic proletarians.

They are prepared to bring witnesses to prove their betrayal, and they will succeed. This corroborates Haubrich's assertion, that the reason why he did not flee after the fall of the Dictatorship, was because he did not feel in any way guilty. We, who fled because we did feel guilty towards the bourgeoisie, and, far from being repentant, were planning to add to our guilt the fresh offence of a new revolution, we ourselves, can stand on our own feet, and affirm that they are not guilty in the eyes of the tribunal which is preparing to send them to the gallows.

What is the White Terror.

That these men too should stand in fear—and justifiable fear—of death before their judges, reveals the true character and full significance of the White Terror. It proves that the White Terror is a White Terror. It proves that the White Terror aims at destroying, not merely the members of the working-class movement, who actively opposed the Dictatorship, but the working-class in general, regime, but the working-class in general, even those whose participation in the revolution was of positive advantage to the bourgeoisie. That is why the White Terror is a White Terror. The feature, among others, which distinguished the White Terror from the Red, was that the working-class was the Red, and always will be magnanimous, magnanimous, and always will be unlimited. They showed the bourgeoisie unlimited mercy; the Red Terror was extended only to those who sought deliberately, and by force of arms, to damage the supremacy and the future of the working-class.

The White Terror, the Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, will only permit so much of the working-class to live as is necessary for the continuance and security of its own parasitic existence.

We write this, to make reparation for our grievous offence, the offence of having, both before and during the Dictatorship, permitted the responsible posts of the Revolution to be filled by men, who, consciously or unconsciously, served the enemies of the proletariat, who, deliberately or from drollery of duty, made it easy for the bourgeoisie to counter-revolution to shed torrents of proletarian blood.

We write in the full conviction that we are not damaging these men in the eyes of Horthy's hangmen. We would willingly save them from their hands and preserve them until the time of a successful revolution, and then put them on their trial before the revolutionary tribunal of the triumphant proletariat.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The E. C. of the Communist International is composed as follows:—Levy (Germany, with Mayer as substitute; Rosmer, France; Quelch (all parties and groups of Great Britain, except the Pankhurst group); John Reed (U.S.A.); Steinhart (Australia); Frus (Scandinavia); Sweden given separate representation later); Pak (Far East) separate representation later); Wijnkoop (Holland, with Munier (Finland)); Wijnkoop (Holland, with Munier (Finland)); Jansen as substitute. The Russian Communist Party, in accordance with the decision of the Congress, nominated five members: G. Zinov, Lev, N. Bukharin, K. Radek, M. Tomsky, Berzin, Stalin, Pavlovich, and Chicherin as substitutes.

G. Zinovlev was unanimously elected Chair man of the new Executive Committee, and a Bureau, composed of Bukharin, Rudolfsky and Kobetsky was appointed. The latter was also appointed secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in view of the impending departure of Comrade Radek for the front.

Problems Before The 3d International.

By G. Zinovlev.

"Zinovlev begins by examining the events which have taken place within the International since the Third International was founded in March, 1919, at Moscow."

No Opportunists.

During this fifteen months a number of parties have left the Yellow International of Hymans, which is represented to-day by three names—Milsudski, Branting, and Noske.

The Communist International has, to a certain extent, become the "fashion." Very many organizations have voted for affiliation to the Communist International, and are resolved to fight the capitalist to the end, their resolutions deserve to be warmly welcomed. But we must beware of the opportunists who knock at the door of the Communist International. This must remain an International of action.

What ought our attitude to be towards the Centre Parties, which have left the Second International and have not yet joined the Third? We know that the workers who are members of these Parties are with us, and that they sincerely desire to fight in our ranks against the capitalists and the social-traitors. But we are convinced that they will escape all the quicker from the ill-omened influence of these bad shepherds the more thoroughly we unmask all these gentlemen—Kautsky, Hilferding, Hil-

quit and Co.

While the First Congress at Moscow was only able to put forward the Communist Programme, this one must define the tactics of the Communist Party in the same mould.

Diversity of Tactics.

It is certainly quite impossible to cast all the Communist Parties in the same mould. The Communist International knows very well that the workers in the different countries have to reckon with extremely diverse social conditions if we pass in review all these countries. If we pass in review all these countries where Communism has already taken deep root, we can divide them into four categories:—

- 1.—Russia, where the proletarian revolution is an accomplished fact.
- 2.—Germany, Austria, and, to a certain extent, the Baltic Provinces, where the revolution has begun, and where the proletarian revolution is being born under painfully difficult circumstances.
- 3.—England, France and Italy, countries of victorious capitalism, with very old parliamentary traditions, where at the present time a deep dissatisfaction and a revision of values is evident amongst the working-class.
- 4.—The oppressed nationalities and the colonies, Ireland, India, part of Turkey, etc., where the movement for liberty cannot fail to take on a nationalist complexion, and where consequently special problems confront the Communists.

The Second Congress will have to weigh this diversity of conditions. It will concentrate the choice of its attention upon these tactical questions which confront the principal European countries.

Parliamentarism.

Zinovlev then speaks of parliamentarism. As long as the workers have not seized control, the Communist should use bourgeois parliamentarism in the interests of the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. There should be no split amongst Communists upon this point. The Bolsheviks entered into the Fourth Czarist Duma; after the revolution they went into the Municipal Councils of Petrograd, Moscow, and other towns; they sent their representatives to the Constituent Assembly, and "there is no doubt that the presence of a considerable communistic section in that assembly enabled it to be dispersed at the given moment in the march of the workers' revolution."

Concerning the question of the industrial unions, Zinovlev advises the Communists not to leave the "yellow" unions, as certain ultra-Left Wing Communists suggest. One must admit that these unions comprise millions of workers. In Germany they include seven million members, whilst the German Communists only have about 100,000 members. We must fight inside these unions and organize Communist centres in them. The Communists must be everywhere where there are organized workers.

At the end of his article, Zinovlev writes that the Second Congress should ask all the Parties affiliated to the Communist International to accept in its entirety the Communist Programme, and to change their name. "A clear differentiation must exist between the Communists supporting the workers' revolution and the Social-Democrats who help the capitalists to suffocate the working-class."

These Parties must turn out the leaders, who only remain with them in order to sabotage. Two worlds are in conflict: one class against another class the workers against the capitalist. No compromise, no equivocation, is admissible.

The Second Congress will be, "the general call to the working elite of the world before all the decisive struggles. The Communists of all countries must do all that lies in their power to enable the present Congress to write the page which it should write in the history of the movement for the liberation of the workers."

London and Moscow

By KARL RADEK.

At the Scarborough Conference of the Labor Party a ghost appeared—Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the Second International, who declared that the Second International was about to remove its chateaus to London. Why this removal?

From the Continent, one half of which is already in the flames of the proletarian revolution, whilst the other half is already feeling the quaking of the earth beneath the tread of the Labor battalions—from the Continent of the rising sun of the world-revolution, the Second International is obliged to flee. The Second International was founded with the object of furthering the cause of the revolution, but in the process of its development it has become the mortal enemy of the Revolution now unfolding.

Workers Leaving Second International.

One workers' party after another is leaving the Second International. Of the continental parties, apart from a few would-be Cabinet Ministers of small States, such as Holland for instance, only the party of blood-stained Noske the executioner of the German workers, is left. The European Continent is lost for the Second International. For the bankrupts of this counter-revolutionary organization there was nothing left but to turn their eyes upon the centre of capitalist counter-revolution. And just as all the Capitalist States of Europe, having lost their own strength, look to British and American capitalism for help, so does Huysmans attempt to save himself in the Noah's Ark of Messrs. Lloyd George and Wilson. They see in England and America the centre of a healthy Labor movement, because there the majority of the workers are not conscious yet of their own power, and they trust the leaders who betray the working class, selling their bodies to the capitalist governments. The Huysmans hope to find a safe shelter in countries where Labor leaders like Henderson, or the old knave of Combers, still have influence.

At the same time the bankrupt politicians of the Second International cast furtive looks at heroic Soviet Russia, at Petrograd, and Moscow, at the Congress of the Communist International. And no wonder. Whilst English capitalism is the prop of the counter-revolution of the world, the Russian proletariat represents the vanguard of the World Revolution, and Russia the spring of the future federation of European Soviet Republics, the main reservoir of human power in the fight against the capitalist counter-revolution.

Russia, the Teacher of the Proletariat.

History imposed upon the Russian proletariat the necessity of being the first to accomplish the proletarian revolution, and although it is younger and less experienced than the proletariat of other countries, nevertheless, because it was the first to hoist the banner of revolution, the first to carry it into effect, it had become the teacher of the proletariat of the world. It goes without saying that the word of the Russian proletariat is not the last word of the revolution, that the Russian proletariat will have much to learn from the proletariat of other countries when the latter will have taken up the fight against the exploiters; for the present, however, it has said the first word from which the proletarians of other countries have to learn, and they hurry across land and sea to the Congress of the Communist International, and do not halt in the face of tremendous difficulties. Amongst the delegates of the Communist International there are comrades, who, upon their return from the first Congress, fell into the hands of the White Guards, were sentenced to death, but miraculously made good their escape. There are amongst them workers, who, though not yet Communists, have overcome unheard-of obstacles, in order to see with their own eyes how the Russian proletariat is fighting, in order to find out what the Communist International can teach them. We are opposing the Communist International to the Second International: the International of Action to the International of Phrases.

Every delegate to the Communist Congress can prove by the experience of his own life that in the midst of the old world now going under in madness, a new working class is rising, new leaders are being born, who are ready at any moment to lay down their life in the cause of the workers.

Communist Influence Growing.

We are firmly convinced that in this fight the call of the European proletariat will be answered also by those workers on whom the ghost of the Second International, the lackey of the bourgeoisie, are pinning their faith. The English and American workers are taking their first step on the road to Revolution, and they, too, are already in the grip of a wide fermentation, and their distrust of their leaders is growing. Equally the influence exercised upon them by Communist influence is growing. At the same Scarborough Conference, which was addressed by Huysmans, the workers have declared for the unconditional liberation of India, Egypt and Ireland. What does this imply? It implies that the workers comprehend that the policy of oppression, pursued by the ruling classes of England in the colonies, is pregnant with the great danger of drawing them into a new war, and will yet increase the burden of taxation, and that it is driving to rebellion the peasants of the colonies, on which England is dependent for its raw

material and cereals. However, for the English bourgeoisie to abandon the colonies would mean committing suicide, and it will never consent to such a course. The English workers will therefore be faced with the alternative: either to rise against their bourgeoisie, so that in their struggle for liberation they may win the confidence of the peasants of the colonies, and in the future obtain from them all they need in a friendly way of proletarian intercourse; or the English workers may continue to serve the interests of their bourgeoisie, in which case they will become the "object" of the revolutionary policy of the world proletariat, the "object" of revolutionary policy of society in revolt. If as yet the majority of the English workers are still the funkeys of their bourgeoisie, history, which has condemned the world-bourgeoisie to death, will compel them through war and famine to rise against their masters, and, for their own safety, to join the ranks of the militant revolutionary proletariat of the world.

Moscow and London are now two world poles, two emblems. The one is the emblem of the new world of Labor, born into the light of day in terrible pain, and the other is the emblem of the world of exploiters and capitalist, collapsing into the utter decay of rottenness and filth.

Poland or Moscow.

At the moment of the meeting of the Second Congress of the Communist International, the London of the exploiters is threatening the Moscow of the proletarians of the whole world with a new war. It wants to hold back the proletarian sword raised against perfidious White Poland. It tells the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia: "Do not dare to touch the Polish landlords and capitalists, because they are a part of our capitalist army." On its side, the Communist International of the proletarians will tell the Russian workers: "Do not waver in the fight against the enemy who has hung himself upon you with the help of world-capital, in order to interrupt your constructive work, to hinder the building up of a new free life; fight this enemy, and we proletarians of all countries will help you."

We are convinced that the help rendered by the revolutionary proletariat of all countries to the Russian workers in their fight against White Poland, will prove more effective and mighty than the assistance which Lloyd George and Millerand may offer to White Poland, because the guns they may send to Poland are made by the workers, and the boats and trains which are to carry munitions are in the hands of the railwaymen and sailors, the exploited workers, our brothers and allies.

Moscow and London are now two world poles, but the foundation of London is the very same labor which in Russia has freed itself, and in England it is striving too, with all its soul, to become free. The ground beneath the London of the capitalists is shaking, and therefore this London, the centre of the counter-revolution of the whole world, is going to be destroyed, in order to become the centre of the World Revolution.

ANNEX TO THESIS ON PARLIAMENTARISM

(Continued from Page 5)

regular introduction of demonstrative bills, not that they may be passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purposes of propaganda, agitation and organization, must be carried on under the direction of the Party and its Central Committee.

6. In the event of labor demonstrations in the streets, or other revolutionary movements, the Communist deputy must occupy the most conspicuous place—at the head of the proletarian masses.

7. The Communist deputies must enter, by all means at their disposal, into relations (under the control of the Party) either in writing or otherwise, with the revolutionary workmen, peasants and other toilers, and not resemble, in this respect, the Social-Democratic deputies who try to enter into business relations with their electors.

8. Every Communist member must remember that he is not a "legislator," who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order there to carry out the orders of the Party. The Communist member is responsible not to the scattered mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether legal or illegal.

9. The Communist deputies must speak in parliament in such a way as to be understood by every workman, peasant, washerwoman and shepherd so that the Party can publish his speeches in leaflet form and spread them in the most remote villages of the country.

10. The rank and file Communist workers must not be shy of speaking in the bourgeois parliaments, and not to give way to the so-called experienced parliamentarians, even if such workers are novices in parliamentary methods. In case of need, the workmen members may read their speeches directly from notes, in order that the speech may be printed afterwards in the papers or in leaflets.

11. The Communist members must make use of the floor of parliament to denounce not only the bourgeoisie and its declared hangers-on, but also to unmask the social-patriots, the reformists, the half-and-half politicians of the Centre, and the other opponents of Communism

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE I. W. W.

(Continued from Page 4)

ment, of the people in the working class movement, consist in helping the most advanced sections of the industrial workers to organize little by little, the whole mass of the proletariat, including the skilled workers, and to include them in the constructive work of the state. The policy of industrialism, which at first sight appears to be radical, is, in practice, only the opportunist policy of the leaders of the working class aristocracy. When all is said and done, this policy will be the same as that of the social traitors.

STATE TRADE UNIONS.

The All-Russian Trade Unions' Congress in January, 1918, declared its conviction that the process which is taking place in the Trade Unions will lead to their transformation into departments of the Socialist state, and, at the same time, Trade Union membership will be a state obligation for all the workers who belong to the same branch of industry" (Par. 9 of the resolution.)

This conviction of the All-Russian Congress is based on facts. The Industrial Unions are gradually assuming the attributes of state departments. They really work as a veritable department of the state when they mobilize all their members, when they concentrate workers in a given town, when they transfer the workers from one part of Russia to another, when they give their vote on question of wages, when they exercise, by means of their representatives, a decisive influence on the activity of the Supreme National Economic Council.

And just because this transformation of Industrial Unions into state departments takes place gradually, and quite normally, there is no present necessity of forcing this process: there is no need to proclaim from one minute to another the transformation of Industrial Unions into state departments. The Communists who work in the Industrial Unions have every reason for adhering to the resolution of the First and Second All-Russian Trade Unions' Congress in this matter.

GROUPS, TRADE UNIONS AND LOCAL BRANCHES OF THE PARTY.

In every Industrial Union there should be a Communist section, strongly organized and disciplined in order that each section may propagate the same economic policy as that of the Central Communist group, which is in the All-Russian Trade Unions' Council. No concession to what is called "Localism" should be made. Wages, hours of labor, food questions and so on should all be considered from the All-Russian point of view. Each Communist group within an Industrial Union is merely a kernel of the local branch of the Communist Party. The local committee of the Party completely dominates the Industrial Union branch of the town, while the Central Committee of the Party controls, by its dominating influence, the All-Russian Committee of the Industrial Unions.

The Communist Party is the force to be counted on for the mobilizing the workers for industry and for the Red army. The Committee of the Party comes to an understanding with the Communist groups in the Industrial Unions. The Communist Party directs all the constructive side of the Trade Union activity, but it takes care that this direction shall never be of a domineering character.

ORGANIZATION OF THE RURAL WORKER.

One of the most important tasks of the working class movement at present in Russia is the organization of the rural workers. It is necessary to help the already existing organizations of the workers by all possible means. The Communists working in the working class movement should consider it an honor to organize the rural workers. This task requires a good deal of energy and power.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

In consequence of certain peculiarities in the evolution of the working class movement in Western Europe, a false conception exist about the Trade Unions among the German Communists and the Communists of other countries. Our party believes that we cannot do without the Trade Unions. During the proletarian revolution the Trade Unions will split up in the same way as the old Social-Democratic parties have done. The experiences of the German working class movement showed us that already the Berlin Trade Unions are freeing themselves from the pernicious influence of the social-democracy of Scheldemann.

The Russian Trade Union movement should take the initiative in creating a Red Trade Union International, in the same way as the political party has done in the political field. At the Congress of the Red International, not only should the organizations of the party be represented, but also the organizations of the Workers' Councils, the Co-operative societies, and the Communist Trade Unions which approve of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviets. Meantime it is necessary to create an International Union to take their stand in the Communist International.

and to spread, as widely as possible, the ideas of the Third International.

12. The Communist deputies, even though there should be only one or two of them in parliament, should be their whole conduct a challenge at capitalism, and never forget that only such are worthy of the name of Communists as, not in words only but in deeds, are the mortal enemies of the bourgeois order and its social-patriotic funkeys.

CONDITIONS FOR AFFILIATION TO THE
THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

(Continued from Page 1)

discipline, and if its party central body, supported by the confidence of the party membership, is fully equipped with power, authority and the most far-reaching faculties.

"13. The Communist Parties of those countries where the Communists carry on their work legally must form time to time institute cleanings (now registrations) of the personnel of their party organization in order to systematically rid the party of the petit bourgeois elements creeping into it.

Must Support Soviets.

"14. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to offer unqualified support to every Soviet republic in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties must carry on a clean cut-propaganda for the hindering of the transportation of munitions of war to the enemies of the Soviet Republic; and furthermore, they must use all means, legal or illegal, to carry propaganda, etc., among the troops sent to throttle the workers' republics.

"15. Parties that have thus far still retained their old Social Democratic programs are now obligated to alter these programs within the shortest time possible and, in accordance with the particular conditions of their countries, work out a new Communist program in the sense of the decisions of the Communist International.

"As a rule the program of every party must be sanctioned by the regular Congress of the Communist International, or by its executive committee.

"In case the program of any party is not sanctioned by the executive committee of the Communist International, the party concerned has the right to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

Congress Rules Are Binding.

"16. All decisions of the Congress as of the Communist International, as well as the decisions of its executive committee, are binding upon all the parties belonging to the International, which is working under conditions of the most acute civil war, must be constructed along much more centralized lines than was the case with the Second International.

"In this connection, of course, the Communist International and its executive committee must, in their entire activities take into consideration the varied conditions under which the individual parties have to fight and labor, and only adopt decisions of general application regarding such questions as can be covered by such decisions.

"17. In connection with this, all parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must change their names. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must bear the name: Communist party of such and such a country (section of the Third Communist International). The question of name is not only a formal matter, but is also to a high degree a political question of great importance.

"The Communist International has declared war upon the whole bourgeois world and all yellow Social Democratic parties. It is necessary to make clear to every plain workingman the difference between the Communist parties and the old official 'Social Democratic' and 'Socialist' parties that have betrayed the banner of the working class.

Must Print All Documents.

"18. All parties official press organs of the parties of all countries are obligated to print all important official documents of the executive committee of the Communist International.

"19. All parties that belong to the Communist International, or that have applied for admission to it, are obligated to call, as soon as possible, but at the latest not more than four months after the second congress of the Communist International, a special convention for the purpose of examining all these conditions.

"In this connection the central bodies must see to it that all the local organizations are made acquainted with the decisions of the second congress of the Communist International.

"20. Those parties that thus far wish to enter into the Third International but have not radically changed their former tactics must see to it that two-thirds of the members of their central committees and of all their important central bodies are comrades who unambiguously and publicly declared in favor national before the second congress of the of their parties' entry into the Third International.

"Exceptions may be allowed with the approval of the executive committee of the Third International. The executive committee of the Communist International also has the right to make exceptions in the cases of the representatives of the center tendency named in paragraph 7.

"21. Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and those laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party.

"The same thing applies especially to delegates to the special party convention."

Financial Report.

CASH STATEMENT FOR AUGUST, 1920

Cash Received.		Cash Paid.	
Dues' Ukr. Fed. June	133.80	Office Exp.: Postage	3.38
" " July	224.40	Supplies	7.75
Russian Fed. July	99.40	Misc.	21.00
Lith. Fed. June	216.00	Sal. (2 men. 4 wks.)	320.00 353.00
Lett. Fed. July	82.20		
Distr. II	14.10	Distr. Sal: D. II (5 wks. Distr. Sub. D.)	400.00
" IV	3.60 778.40	D. I (4 wks.)	180.00
		D. III (3 wks.)	125.00
Convention Assees.: D. IV	53.60	D. IV (4 wks.)	140.00
D. V	23.00 76.60	D. V (5 wks.)	185.00 1040.00
Org. Fund: Distr. II	209.60	Distr. Travel: D. II	94.40
" III	26.60	D. III	36.33
" IV	135.25	D. IV	19.53
" V	558.95	D. V	114.71 264.96
" VI	1000.00		
Lith Fed	10.00 1940.20	Distr. Misc: D. I	13.85
		D. II	42.68
Day's Pay: Distr. II	375.61	D. III	4.78
" III	97.36	D. IV	1.50
" V	59.00 531.97	D. V	26.55 89.34
Defense Stamps: Distr. II	20.40	Communist: Edit. Sal. (4 wks.)	180.00
" V	129.25 149.65	Assist. Ed. (5 wks.)	225.00
		Printing	265.50
Communist Returns: D. I	10.35	Delivery	29.20 689.70
D. II	71.14		
D. III	15.10	Literature: Prtg.	264.10
D. V	16.00 112.59	Deliv.	16.00 280.10
Press Fund: Lith. Fed.	10. 10.00	Leaflets: Nat. Office	294.00
Distr. III, Bal. of 7-24-20	34.10 34.10	Distr. I	15.00
Returned Deposit on Forms	100.00 100.00	Distr. IV	150.00
Leaflets: Distr. I	28.60	Distr. V	150.00 609.00
" III	21.85 50.45		
Literature: Distr. I	6.90	Int'l Del.: Sal. (4 wks.)	140.00
" II	32.00	For Expense	205.35 345.35
" III	18.35		
" V	47.45 103.70	C. E. C. Mtg. Exp.	34.53 34.53
		Exp. to Lith. Convention	8.65 8.65
Old Debts, Distr. II	78.06 78.06	F. & F. Typewriter & Misc.	55.50 55.50
Distr. Adjust: Distr. I	164.00	Contrib. to Jew. Fed.	100.00 100.00
" III	15.25	Lith. Fed. Check Returned (Will be made good)	100.00 100.00
" IV	100.53	Due Stamps Printing	12.00 12.00
" V	42.51 322.31	Distr. Adjust: D. II	25.73
		D. III	31.00 56.73
Total Rec'd in Aug.	4282.83	Total Paid in Aug.	4048.36
Bal. from July	90.10	Bal. to Sept.	324.57
	4372.93		4372.93

The Role of the Communist Party in the
Proletarian Revolution.

(Concluded)

The legal press (newspapers, literature) must be unconditionally and entirely subordinate to the party as a whole and to its executive committee. No concessions in this respect are permissible.

(18) The fundamental basis of all the organizing work of the Party and of the Communists must be the setting-up of Communist nuclei (groups) wherever there is even a small number of proletarians. In every Council of Workers' Deputies, in every trade union, in every co-operative organization, in every workshop, in every house committee, in every governmental institution, everywhere, if there be only three persons sympathizing with Communism, it is necessary immediately to organize a Communist group. It is only organization of the Communist that allows the vanguard of the working-class to lead the whole of the working-class. All groups of Communists at work in the non-party organizations are unconditionally subordinated to the Party organization as a whole, independently of whether the Party at the given moment is working legally or illegally. The Communist groups of all kinds must be subordinated to one another in a strict hierarchy, in the most accurate form possible.

(19) The Communist Party almost everywhere is born as a town party, as a party of the industrial workers, living mainly in the towns. In order to achieve the easiest and swiftest possible victory of the working-class, it is necessary that the Communist Party should become not merely a party of the town, but also of the villages. The Communist Party must carry on propaganda and organization amongst the agricultural laborers, the small and middle peasantry. The Communist Party, with particular persistence, must attempt the organization of Communist groups in the villages.

The international organization of the proletariat can be powerful only if in all countries where Communists live and struggle the view of the part played by the Communist Party, as outlined above, is confirmed. The Communist

International invites to its congress every trade union acknowledging the principles of the Third International and ready to break with the Yellow International. The Communist International will organize under its auspices an international section of Red Trade Unions standing on the platform of Communism. The Communist International will not refuse to co-operate with any non-party working-class organization, if it wishes to carry on a serious revolutionary struggle against the capitalist class. But the Communist International, side by side with this, will always point out to the workers of the whole world: (1) The Communist Party is the chief and most important weapon of emancipation of the working class. In every country there should now be no longer groups and tendencies but a Communist Party (2) In every country there should exist only one single Communist Party (3) The Communist Party must be built on the principle of strict centralization and, in the period of civil war, must introduce military discipline into its ranks. (4) Wherever there are ten proletarians or semi-proletarians, the Communist Party must have its organized nucleus (group). (5) In every non-party institution there must exist a Communist group, most strictly subordinated to the Party as a whole. (6) Firmly and devotedly guarding the programme and the revolutionary tactics of Communism, the Communist Party must always be connected in the closest possible fashion with the great working class organizations and must avoid sectarianism as much as it avoids lack of principle.

The Socialist Assemblymen have been quoted again. Too bad! After all the trouble the S. P. convention took to make its already enunciated program conform to meet the requirements of a few stupid upstart politicians.